

A G U I D E

FOR THE
FREEHOLDERS OF GREAT BRITAIN,

And the LIVERY of LONDON:

In order to preserve their Rights and Priviledges,
by a Dissolution of Parliament, on the present alarming
Crisis; and to prevent Bribery and Corruption on future
Elections:

S H E W I N G

How to obtain Independant Parliaments by a Li-
mitation of Placemen, and an additional Number of twelve
Aldermen of the City of London, to be chosen Members,
for the Grandeur of the Metropolis, and encrease of Trade
and Riches;

WITH
An American Representation: in a grand Navy, in
Time of Peace, without national Expence, submittting to
public Consideration, the popular Plans lately laid before
the Ministers, for easing the Poor, by taking off the Duties
on Soap, Tallow and Candles.

T O W H I C H I S A D D E D,

Explanations and Remarks, with authentic Accounts
of late Transactions with some of the Ministers, and how
they have neglected and blunder'd in the Execution of
the salutary Schemes laid before them, for the Honour of
the Crown, and the Happiness of the People; with other
interesting Anecdotes.

L O N D O N :

Printed for the AUTHOR; and to be sold at most Booksellers, and
Pamphlet Shops in Town. 1771.

[Price Two Shillings and Six Pence.]

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March 31. 1956

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

Now in the Press, and to be published with all speed ;

A Narrative of Mr. Mac Allester's Applications to a certain great Lady, in January 1770; with the interesting Letters wrote by him to Lord North and Mr. Robinson, relative to the Designs of the Enemy; with the Proposals made by him to defeat them, and a succinct Account of the Determination of the Treasury Board on his Memorial, and the ministerial Return of Generosity which he has received; together with particular Anecdotes relative to these Subjects.

A(v)
Hill
F.C.O.D

[s.]

HEADS of the PROPOSED BILL,

O R.

Second MAGNA CHARTA of ENGLAND;

Mentioned in a LETTER address'd to the People
of GREAT BRITAIN, lately published, and as
laid before L. N— and L. H—.

First, BE it enacted, That at all elections for
B counties, cities, boroughs, universities,
or cinque ports; the candidate or candidates,
offering to represent in parliament, shall be sworn
before the poll begins to his, or their qualifications,
and that he has not by himself, nor his agents, by his
order directly, or indirectly, used any bribery, or
corruption among the electors, to obtain their votes
or suffrages in his favour.

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Secondly,

Secondly, That all electors or voters for counties, &c. as above, shall have administered to him or them, before voting, the oath against bribery and corruption; and all voters to declare upon oath, that they do not hold, enjoy, occupy, or pay rent for their tenure, with any restriction upon them to vote.

Thirdly, That any peer of the realm making interest, meddling or interfering in any election, for any county, &c. as above, directly or indirectly, by himself or his agents, or obliging any burgess to comply as he or they may direct to their interest, views, or designs, for voting for any candidate, or who shall, or may in any respect impede, prevent, or obstruct any burgess from giving his vote free and independent; shall on the oath of two credible witnesses forfeit the penal sum of £1000 and in default of payment, be deprived of his peerage, and of holding any place either civil or military, under the government.

Fourthly, That no constitutional, or American to
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member shall have, hold or enjoy any office, post or place, either civil or military, or shall receive any bribe, pension or lucrative employment either foreign or domestic by himself, or any person or persons in trust for him during the time of his being a member of parliament, and if found offending therein, shall, on conviction of two or more credible witnesses, forfeit the penal sum of £ and be for ever after incapable of serving as a representative of the free people of Great Britain or America on any future election whatsoever. And for the more speedy and effectual punishment of such person or persons, as shall or may attempt or offer at this breach of the constitution; no peer, commoner, or other person or persons prosecuted on this charge, shall have any privilege of parliament in the prosecution, or event of the said suit, but that any person within the county, upon evidence of two credible witnesses, may sue the said peer or peers, commoner, or commoners, or other person or persons engag'd in such unconstitutional measure, in any of his Majesty's Courts of Record, and obtain judgment and execution thereon; the said.

said suit to be carried on at the expence of the county, and the prosecutor or prosecutors to be paid for their los of time, trouble and expences, out of the county money, by an order of the justices of the peace, at their quarter sessions; and if any dispute arises about the said suit, a meeting of the freeholders shall be called, to settle the same, and be by them finally determined.

Fifthly, That any freeholder, citizen, burges, &c. receiving any bribe, place, or pension, direct or indirect for his or their vote; or any burgess holding any tenure to vote for any person or persons who are or have been placemen or pensioners in the two last parliaments, or either of them, such person or persons, shall, on the oath of two credible witnesses, forfeit the penal sum of £ and be forever incapable of voting at any future election for any county, city, or borough, &c. in Great Britain, or for any representative in America, and be sued as above mentioned.

Sixthly, That any sheriff or sheriffs, guilty of false

false returns, and not pursuing the charter, the custom, and privileges of the county, city, university, borough, or cinque port, as established by law for elections, or any returning officer presiding at any election, who shall impede or prevent any election, shall on the oath of two credible witnesses, forfeit the penal sum of £ 100 and be sued as above mentioned.

~~good and sufficient and true labour and service which ought to be done in the said election by the said returning officer.~~

Note, All the above penal sum to be applied for the use of the county after the expences are paid.

Seventhly, That as affairs of state require state officers to be in parliament, for communicating matters, that may be considered and debated in council, and other interesting affairs of state for deliberation of parliament; Let it be enacted, That the under mentioned officers of state, either civil or military, only shall have seats in parliament; and that the under mentioned officers being either peers or commoners, shall have their seats and votes, as members of the House of Commons from

their post or office only, as they cannot be chosen by this bill as representatives for a free people; Let it therefore be enacted, That all the under-mentioned officers of state, as also the twelve aldermen and two sheriffs, herein after likewise mentioned, during their service or attendance in the House of Commons, do wear by way of distinction a medal with his majesty's bust, hung in a purple ribband at their button hole in their cloaths, with this motto, Amor Patriæ Georgius Tertius 1771; and on the reverse, a Britannia. Motto, I will serve.

List of such State Officers.

Two Lords of the Treasury.

Two Attorney and Solicitor Generals.

Two Secretaries of State.

One Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Two Lords of the Admiralty.

One Paymaster General.

One General in Chief of the Forces.

One Secretary of State for the Colonies.

One Secretary of War.

One

One Master of the Ordnance.

One Lord of Trade.

One Commissioner of the Navy Office.

One Commissioner of the Customs.

Seventeen members of State, all to be nominated by the king : durante bene placito.

Twelve Aldermen of the city of London to be chosen annually, besides the four constitutional members for the grandeur of the metropolis, but not to hold, enjoy, or possess any place, or contract from, or under government, nor to engage during their seat for any contract, jobbs, or emoluments with government, thereby to avoid being esteemed biased persons, to take the oath of bribery and corruption, but no qualification oath.

Two Sheriffs for the county of Middlesex and London, as annually chosen, neither oath or qualification requisite.

Thirty-one additional members.

Eighthly, That for uniting and strengthening Great Britain with America, and for forming a grand
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empire for the most political reasons, a representation is necessary for America to effect this plan; that their members are to be on the establishment of our constitutional members; (qualification excepted) but to distinguish the one from the other, the American members to wear a blue ribband at their button hole of their cloaths, with his majesty's bust: motto, *amor patriæ Georgius Tertius 1771*; on the reverse, Britannia, with a child kneeling; motto, *I will obey.*

List of such American members.

Two for Hudson's Bay, and those parts Northward.

Two for Newfoundland, and the Islands in the Gulph of St. Lawrence.

Two for Canada.

Two for Nova Scotia.

Four for New England, and New York:

Six for the Indian Nations, behind the above mentioned settlements; by Britons chosen from the province of New England and New York.

Two

Two for East and West Jerseys.

Two for Pennsylvania.

Two for Maryland.

Two for Virginia.

Six for the Indian Nations behind these four last provinces, to be by Britons chosen, from the said provinces.

Two for North and South Carolina.

Two for Georgia.

Two for Florida, quite to the mouth of the Mississippi.

Four for the Islands, as Caribbees, Bahama, &c.

Four for Jamaica.

Two for Barbadoes.

Forty-eight American members.

Ninthly, Let it be enacted, That as the constitutional members, and American members, are debarred by this bill from any place or pension, or any lucrative employment under government: that whenever any state lottery is wanted for the use of government, that these members only, shall have the tickets delivered among them, share and

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share

share alike, at the intrinsic value, to be at their option, to subscribe or dispose of their shares, on paying the stated payments, or their value; and that they be delivered from the treasury as early as possible for negotiation, no privilege granted on default of payment.

Tenthly, Let it be enacted, That the four following fleets be kept up in time of peace, for the security of his majesty's dominions in all parts of the world, to be ready against any surprize from the common enemies of Great Britain upon her territories, possessions, trade or navigation. It being the only plan to preserve the force of treaties, secure the commerce and interest of this kingdom, and to give weight to all future negotiations; as these fleets can be supported and maintained without incumbring the revenue, without laying any tax on the people of Great Britain, or creating any additional charge to the navy account. This plan hath been laid before the Right Hon. the Earl of S—— for his lordship's consideration, and desired

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fired afterwards to be presented to the king for his approbation, the second of March 1771.

CHANNEL SQUADRON.

Thirteen ships of seventy or seventy-four guns.

Twelve ships of sixty or sixty-four guns.

Twelve frigates.

Twenty cutters or sloops.

Two fire ships.

Two bombs.

Note, Twelve or fourteen sail of this squadron of the line should be always sheathed and ready for foreign service, to assist the other fleets in case of accident, or necessity

MEDITERRANEAN SQUADRON.

Seven ships of seventy or seventy-four guns.

Seven ships of sixty or sixty-four guns.

Five frigates.

One bomb.

One fire ship.

EAST

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E A S T I N D I A S Q U A D R O N.

Six ships of seventy or seventy-four guns.

Ten ships of sixty or sixty-four guns.

Five frigates.

One bomb.

One fire ship.

A M E R I C A N S Q U A D R O N.

Eight ships of seventy or seventy-four guns.

Eight ships of sixty or sixty-four guns.

Ten frigates.

Two bombs.

Two fire ships.

Total, seventy-one sail of the line, thirty-two frigates, six bombs, six fire ships, with fifty-three thousand registered seamen to be established by parliament.

Eleventhly, That as a lasting peace by the misconduct of our impolitic ministers is very precarious; Let it be enacted, that seventy-one sail of the line, thirty-two frigates, be annually kept in
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our harbours in constant repair and docked, so as to be ready and fit to put into commission; and that the supervisors, and board of admiralty, be answerable for any neglects, in a large penal sum of £ ; to the end, that the above number of ships may be fit for service in less than three months, if wanted; and as to the manning of these ships, one of the plans herein after mentioned will be so efficacious as to man this number of ships in the three months: without distressing the merchants service, by stripping them of their sailors; but instead of that, to furnish them with proper convoys to force their trade on the eve of a war; and not be subject to such high insurances as are generally given; these fleets will be manned at one fourth of the expence lately adopted, without treating our fellow creatures with such uncommon hardships, barbarities, and other cruel usage which they have met with on board the tenders, and other ships destined for such service.

Twelfthly, It is proposed by this bill, to keep
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the same number of land forces and militia as established.

Thirteenthly, Let it be enacted, That in commemoration of his present majesty's goodness and love to his subjects, in promoting this grand independency of parliament, and maintaining the honour of his crown, and the welfare of his people, that an additional grant of £ 200,000 annually be made to the civil list, and for ever be tacked to the bill, as well for the splendour and dignity of the crown, as for the better support of his illustrious family, and to avoid all arrears and deficiencies; also that the sum of £ 100,000 be likewise annually granted for secret service money, without account, and tacked to this bill.

A LIST of divers elegible plans ready to be explained and demonstrated to a patriotic ministry, or to a committee, which should be necessary to be annexed to the bill, and which, when approved, and passed into a law, with the grand constitutional bill by king, lords and commons,

mons, will be found fully to answer the ends proposed.

First, A Plan to take into pay twenty-five rough ambassadors, who speak all languages, their weight, influence and force, succeed in most negotiations; they will not make a bad treaty, or an infamous convention.

When their sovereign says, go, execute my commands, they return with the motto, *veni, vidi, vici*; gold will not stick to the palm of their hands: their consequence and service will be fully proved and explain'd, in the ruin of our enemies.

Secondly, A plan for a nursery of seamen to support the bulwarks of Great Britain.

Thirdly, A plan for to give more encouragement to seamen, by a more regular pay, by better and cheaper stores and provisions than are commonly provided for them, by those who have the care of that department for their support when at sea,

sea, and a more equal distribution of prize money ; so that this useful body of men, the only safeguard of Great Britain, may not for the future suffer the hardships they have been oblig'd to submit to for many years by these neglects.

Fourthly, A plan to prevent smuggling in general, but especially in the articles of wool and sheep, so detrimental to his majesty's revenue and subjects, (the millstone of our woollen manufactory) the cause of the decline of that beneficial branch of trade, by which that channel of wealth is destroyed, and really gone from us like a bird of passage ; for by the quantity of our wool run or smuggled, we loose that beneficial manufactory, and workmanship equal to sixteen millions sterling per annum, which is the principal cause of numbers of our artificers transporting themselves into all parts of the world to find bread, whilst those who remain at home are reduced to the parish or work house, for want of trade and proper encouragement, and the grand source of the high encrease of poor rates in many counties of this kingdom.

Fifthly,

Fifthly, A plan to raise four millions annually, either in peace or war, without any tax on the people of Great Britain, which will support the navy appointed by this bill in time of peace.

Sixthly, A plan to settle all national accounts at a fixed time, and for those accounts to be laid before parliament, for their approbation of the publick money as expended.

Seventhly, A plan to regulate that no officers either by sea, or land, shall have any buckram men, nor sink their pay, provisions, &c. &c. &c.

Eighthly, A plan to prevent fraudulent bankruptcies, the frequency of which (at this present juncture) is a great loss to trade and credit, and a grand cause of making bad manufactories in all kind of goods, and a discredit to a trading nation.

Ninthly, A plan to man our navy in an expeditious

ditious manner, and at little expence to the publick when a war, or the state requires a larger fleet than appointed by this bill.

Tenthly, A plan to prevent in a great measure our enemies invading us, by passing the channel in time of war.

Eleventhly, A plan to establish an universal trade between Great Britain and America for mutual support, the encrease of immense riches to both, and firmly uniting them in this grand work.

Twelfthly, A plan to raise the supplies always within the year, either peace or war ; to abolish all jobs, contracts and douceurs of the publick money; to take off those pernicious taxes and impediments in trade, which effect the labouring part of the kingdom, and consequently diminish the sale of our woollen manufactory abroad, by enhancing the price, such as soap, tallow and candles.

Explanations and remarks touching the uses and benefits

benefits of this grand constitutional bill, under each head, for the people of Great Britain.

The first five heads of this bill, will secure you the following great advantages; they will prevent bribery and corruption, domestick or foreign; secure good treaties, conventions, and negotiations; furnish you with honest ministers, confirm to you your constitutional laws, root out venality from your counties, cities, and boroughs, &c. and cause your parliaments to be rever'd and fear'd throughout the universe.

Sixth head will secure all your elections from tumult, and render them constitutional, according to the charters and privileges originally granted and confirmed by our ancient kings to the people of England.

Seventh head will fix such a number of place-men as may be necessary for dispatch of publick business, from their posts or offices only, as none can be chosen either civil or military by this bill; their

their number cannot influence your parliaments, no influenced counties, boroughs, &c. can by this bill return any man as a representative, who holds a place civil or military, or who is possessed of any lucrative employment; you may say, they may choose men who are connected with others that have employment; this will be difficult to ascertain; I own, however, that interest cannot be durable, nor be compared to the real benefit and use of a person who possesses the same in his own right, therefore that interest of connection is unstable, and not to be feared; besides, the ignominy such candidate will bring on himself; for which reason I recommend a fix'd number of placemen from office only, and none to represent a free people from choice.

I must here make a short digression in apologizing to the naval and military officers, which are excluded by this bill, whose services, rank and commissions should not place them in the class of placemen or pensioners, as the greatest veneration and regard should be paid to those worthy

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gentlemen; therefore their honour should by all means be preserved, and their services for their country, in their respective ranks esteemed. These gentlemen above mentioned, after having served their country many years with the greatest dignity, honour and courage, and risked their lives in its defence, are often chose your representatives; but alas! corruption from the different set of statesmen, as mentioned in the letter addressed to the people of Great Britain, referring to this bill, published a few days ago, hath often stained the annals of England, and dishonoured the merits of many of the bravest officers in our service, who ought to wear a crown of laurels in that very house, where some of them have sold their votes to oblige the ministers; how irksome; how ignominious; how detestible is it for a brave man, to be oblig'd to vote against his conscience, to the prejudice of his country, or else to loose his bread, and be dismis'd from his command, notwithstanding his past services for the state; of which we have had recent examples. The minister regards no man's interest, views, or designs but his own, and must be obeyed;

therefore it is absolutely necessary that these gentlemen should preserve their honour by a total independence, in not being subject to the arbitrary dictates of a minister to vote as he pleases; besides, duty generally requires them in another place as guardians of the greatest trust the nation can confide, viz. the defence of their lives and properties; for these reasons they may easily dispense being excluded from being members.

But supposing a contrary opinion should prevail; it would then be expedient, that the following oath should be administered to all naval and military officers, offering themselves as candidates for any county, city, &c. before the poll begins.

First, The qualification oath; then, that he will not receive any bribe or pension, post or office, more than the one he holds or shall hold, either military or naval, whilst he is a representative; that he will not directly or indirectly vote according to the request, desire, or command of any minister, or his agents, nor be influenced by the post he holds,

holds, but will vote on all occasions as the exigencies of his country require him to do ; that on his or their oaths, any minister, or his agent asking, directing, influencing, or writing to him or them to attend the house, shall, on conviction, be immediately expelled the house, and shall pay a large fine ; one half to such officer, and the other half to the use of Greenwich hospital.

You will please to remark, that the twelve aldermen, and the two sheriffs, being all nominal members, altho' they are chosen by the livery, are a full counterpoize against placemen, such as are beforementioned ; and upon mature reflection, it will be found, that both will add splendour, weight, and power to the crown, and to the people of England ; at the same time that it shews their grandeur to all foreign powers ; the medal they are dignified with, to distinguish them, is honourable and great, and makes them appear as men of consequence in your national council.

Eighth, This head cannot be fully explained here,
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it is a cabinet affair, and calculated for universal empire in the western part of the world.

Ninth head explains its own uses.

Tenth head, This would take up volumes to define the benefits, advantages, and uses that will attend this article, by bringing in national wealth, happiness and glory: I shall therefore be as brief here as possible, in conveying only an idea or two on this head. First, it is absolutely necessary, let the expence be what it will, altho' reduced to the most narrow circumstances, to maintain and keep these fleets to preserve your trade, and prevent you from being slaves; this is the ground work of all your future happiness, the source of power, wealth and riches, and the source for universal trade; some of the many ill consequences brought on us, and the dangers we are expos'd to by the neglect of ministers in this capital article, are as follows: your national debt, in the course of years, attended with a load of taxes, continual insults in the time of peace from foreign powers, the great decline of,

of, and the many encroachments on your trade, great want of sailors, who are inticed into foreign service, or drove there by necessity and distress; all powers being fond of your hearts of oak; great bounties given when you want them, and none to be found; pressing, forcing, and bad usage made use of: on a peace you dismiss these brave tars, force them to beggary and the highway, their pay earn'd with hardship cannot be received, their small share of prize money devoured 'by agents, (called vultures) thus you destroy the very bulwarks of your own country, and a set of men no nation can equal.

All weak, supine, corrupt and ignorant ministers pretend to say, this navy cannot be supported in time of peace, but cry out savings! savings! the public money must be saved! Have you at any time experienced for these sixty years past, as by the letter just now published referring to this bill, any savings; on the contrary, you have found and experienced, that a debt of about one hundred and fifty millions, is now weighing you down, and yet

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you are very near a bankruptcy for want of this navy. It is clear, and easy to demonstrate, what a narrow escape you have had last year; what a fortunate deliverance from being ruined for ever, or being any more a maritime power, which can always be effected by the enemy, if you have no navy in harbour, for in this consists the maritime force of the nation; thanks to the care and vigilance of those who are intrusted with the charge, that our maritime strength in June last, consisted of about two ships of the line, and two or three frigates in the Mediterranean; about one ship of the line, and two frigates for all America; two frigates in the East Indies; about six or seven guard ships at home, not fit for sea. O shameful ministers! a glorious navy indeed for Old England to preserve the empire of the sea.

O shameful ministers, how can you risk the honour and safety of your king in this manner; and the lives and properties of the people of Great Britain; a petty piratical state of Barbary is now more powerful at sea: but before I set forth your enemies fleets, every man that hath any knowledge of
France

France or Spain, except a short sighted minister, must know the police of their marine, and understand with what dispatch they can man their fleets on any emergency.

First, The Toulon squadron generally consisted of twelve or fourteen sail of ships of the line, fit for sea.

Secondly, The Carthagena fleet consisted of four or five ships of the line, fit for sea.

Thirdly, The Cadiz squadron consisted of fifteen or sixteen sail of the line, fit for sea.

Fourthly, The Ferrol squadron consisted of fifteen or sixteen sail of the line, fit for sea.

Fifthly, The Brest squadron consisted of fifteen or sixteen sail of the line, fit for sea; as to the seamen they have them at a call by a well conducted registry: these squadrons is far from being exaggerated.

Rumour upon rumour, preparation on preparation in all the ports abovementioned, that these fleets

fleets were destin'd to sail; nothing done at home till October last. Let me ask our vigilant ministers, what squadron had they to oppose the junction of the Toulon squadron with that of Cadiz; or how could they have supported Mahon and Gibraltar, if your enemy had thought fit to attack either of those places; answer, our squadron there would serve for expresses, to bring us the news they were both taken; excellent policy this, and very interesting news for old England. But I must ask again, what opposition could your navy make, to prevent a junction of the Toulon and Cadiz squadrons, with the Ferrol squadron, and then next with the Brest squadron: what an amazing sight would it be to behold all these ships in your channel, forming one combin'd fleet, with a broom at the top-mast heads of some of them, sweeping, destroying, and taking all your ships, even out of your very harbours; towing along with them the few fit for service, and burning your rotten bottom ones, except they should have the complaisance to leave you only as many as would serve you as fishermen, to bring them bacalhao, or cod fish for their lent season,

son, half the squadron abovementioned was able to effect it; and to land 100,000 of their troops if they pleas'd, to teach you their paternoster; for at this very period, after pressing, working double tides, and alarmed in all parts of the globe; your channel squadron fit for sea, did not amount to above twenty-four sail of the line of battle, without any other squadron in any other part of the world, nor is it to this hour, in any respect materially encreas'd with regard to those of our enemies. If Don Bucarelli had destin'd his friend Ignacio Madriagara and his squadron for your channel instead of Falkland Island, the king of Spain would not have disavowed the action of his officer; and the convention, bad as it is, if he had granted you any other, would have been quite of a different nature; it is therefore to be wished, that our macaroni ministers do not intend to put your ships out of commission, and dismiss your sailors, upon the merit of the wonderful convention, in order to leave you defenceless; if they do, every man of them ought to be impeach'd as a traitor to his king and country, till the whole junto is destroyed, by the ax and the cord. Nothing can be plainer, if guilty of this enormous

treachery, than that their intent is to sell you downright. Your preservation from the eminent dangers, before recited, was entirely owing to the weak and pussillanimous conduct of the Spanish ministry, blended in the mixed intrigues of love and politics prevajling at the French court, which has, as yet, render'd the French plot tedious in being brought to perfection, but which is still in agitation there; this, and this alone, has to this juncture sav'd your king and country from feeling the effects of their atrocious designs upon both: which, a short time will evince by their taking off the masque, and renewing their insults, to carry their schemes into execution.

Old Lewis the XIVth. if he had been above ground, had finished your destruction before this time, under similar circumstances; therefore take care to be prepar'd in time, to prevent the execution of their designs. If your defence and property had been in defending or offending a county election; how to corrupt a city, or a borough; our notable ministers would have long since beat them from one ocean to the other; tho' the fort of our national

national strength is gone to decay. Pray ask these wiseacres of ministers, for what reason does the French king keep up an army of upwards of 200,000 in time of peace; in war 400,000. His ministers will tell you, that it is to give weight, strength and power to his crown, make his negotiations with other powers firm and solid, and the only method to preserve peace; half his force kept up in time of peace, is a good precedent for us to keep up half our force, which lies in our navy, for the same period.

Ask the emperor of Germany, why he keeps so great a body of troops on foot in time of peace: his ministers will tell you the same; that is, to keep his enemies quiet and in awe.

Ask the wise king of Prussia, he will tell you the same himself, without a minister; he will tell you, that he will not pin his faith on the promises of either German, French or any other foreign powers, his sword is his best peace maker; observe his forces, look at his oeconomy, and look at his revenue.

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And ask these judicious ministers, if we have not the same reason to keep up a proper navy in time of peace, as other powers to keep large bodies of troops in pay ? and if it is not time for them to open their eyes on this object ? But that your national glory and interests may not be totally abolished, and as it can be plainly and fully demonstrated that these fleets, as appointed by the bill for their different stations with fifty-three thousand registered seamen, can be maintained and supported, without any additional charge to the public, or encrease of taxes, and that Britannia can rule the waves; it is desired, that the gentlemen at the helm will declare why such a measure is neglected. Let the macaroni ministers answer, if such proposals were not made to one of them ; and if this does not take away all objections, and every excuse to fit out these fleets, as by this bill is proposed, or a much superior one, if necessary, on the same principle, with an augmentation of pay of two hundred pounds per annum in time of peace, to each captain of a ship of the line ; and one hundred pounds per annum to each captain of a frigate, to support the dignity of their ranks,

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as they can have no expectation of prize money, and are at a great expence in fitting out, and furnishing themselves with necessaries suitable to such an honourable command. I recommend also in time of peace 25,000 marines to be supported and maintained as a useful and necessary corps; they may learn a new exercise in the interval of a peace, previous to a war; viz. to shovel on occasion, if the Dons don't behave well, the Spanish dollars for public treasure.

Eleventh head is in support of the tenth, and explains itself.

Twelfth head is explained in the bill.

Thirteenth head is for you to express and shew your gratitude to your sovereign, for his great love and affection towards you, in passing such a constitutional bill, wherein his own glory and happiness are the first grand objects.

As to the plans, they will explain their uses, when called for; the heads of them shew the design

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and intent as calculated for the honour, dignity, power and wealth of Great Britain; and to detect all fraud and deceit in the public money, and can be executed with a certainty as true as king George the Third, is king of Great Britain, &c. These plans are so popular in their nature, that nine men out of ten throughout the whole kingdom will not only applaud, but agree to the measures, for the safety of their king, and preservation of themselves; which clearly proves a disinterested cause, and yet no private emoluments, but what a generous prince, and a grateful people will amply gratify.

An account of transactions passed between Mr. Robinson (Lord N—'s secretary) and Mr. Phelps (Lord S—'s secretary) in respect to the uses and plans of this grand constitutional bill, and other matters.

Falling into a political conversation the latter end of last May, with a gentleman of my acquaintance in regard to France and Spain, and speaking of the sentiments of a noble earl, who had some time

time before publickly declared, that a blow had been given in some part of our foreign territories. We both concurred that he judged right, first by my intelligence from Spain, and that of my friend and acquaintance from France: my friend in our discourse on this occasion earnestly recommended it to me, and desired I would apply to the minister: upon which I acquainted him, that I had a particular regard for lord N—, (as a private nobleman) but no opinion of the junto with which he was then connected: as I fear'd, that no good step would be taken for a distressed country, whilst many of them remain'd in office.

The news of Falkland Island being taken having soon after transpir'd, my friend delivered a letter at lord N—'s to acquaint him, that a friend of his had some plans and schemes of great use to the state, very material for his lordship's consideration: and in a few days after address'd another letter, inclosing the plans, and sent it to his lordship, with a constitutional bill; and proposing an extensive navy, superior in force to that mentioned in this bill: upon this application, lord N— referred

referred my friend to Mr. Robinson, to treat on these subjects proposed ; several interviews between Mr. Robinson and my friend, and many cautionary letters were wrote to his lordship, and Mr. Robinson advising to get fleets ready for fear of a further surprize, and attack upon the possessions of the crown, in the time of peace : and to have a grand fleet to defend us at home and abroad, and to disguise it under the pretence of going to Boston, and to attack a certain place as by the plan, and designs, in order to make reprisals, &c. Mr. Robinson became desirous of seeing me, made two appointments for that purpose, and broke them both; my lord went out of town: Mr. Robinson did the same, on which I retired into the country. In this manner the months of September and October elapsed without any busines. In November last my friend wrote me a line to come to town, that he had fixed a conference with Mr. Robinson at lord N—'s house, (at which I supposed my lord would have been present) on which I came to London to attend the appointment : no body at home, or greater busines defeated all hopes of any interview

view on these interesting objects : at length, however, on the thirteenth of January last, an interview was granted by Robinson; at which he began in begging pardon for the many disappointments he had given me; telling me at the same time, that my lord had a great hurry of business upon his hands, and had not been able to attend to the propositions. I told him dependance and attendance was not my province; that I came to serve my king and country; that I wanted neither place or pension, and that my fortune render'd me independant; but that, however, as I had a generous prince, and a grateful people to rely upon, if my services had any merit, I doubted not of meeting with a gratification after they were performed, he answered and said, my plans were noble and extensive, and my proposals laudable.

He then wanted an explanation: I told him, that I would give my lord perfect satisfaction touching the propositions, when I had a conference with his lordship; but was surprized at meeting the delay and neglects in national affairs, of such importance as had been laid before him; adding,

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that if my lord had entered upon this business, and given a hearing, or any attention to these matters, about the latter end of July beforementioned ; that on or before the month of December last, he might have had a *carte blanche* from Spain, instead of a *convention*.

He then assured me, I should have a *conference* very soon with my lord ; but neither hearing from one or the other, I went some days after for my papers, and was then requested to call another day. On the second calling had an interview with Mr. Robinson and my papers return'd; who told me, that my lord desired his compliments, and was much obliged to me for my attention, &c, but that a peace was agreed to, and plans for raising money settled ; and that my great plan for a fleet as above mentioned, was not in my lord's department ; and thereupon Mr. Robinson was pleas'd to tell me, after the expiration of seven months, it lay in another department, and then transfer'd me to lord Sandwich, saying, he had just then paved the way for my reception, desiring me to call upon his lordship;

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and then continued, that lord Sandwich was a man of great abilities for that department : I told him, that I could not tell whether I should go, or not: but on considering the utility it might be of to my country, I determined to go; but first sent my plan of the fleets, as stationed in this bill, and delivered according to date, to be laid before lord Sandwich, according to Mr. Robinson's desire and directions. I must now return to good lord North, to ask him a few questions relative to these facts.

First, That his lordship may say, whether the bill and plans are not worthy the attention of a minister in his department, as supposing him to be nominally, or otherwise the first minister of the kingdom?

Secondly, Whether it is not the province of a first lord of the treasury to consider, and find ways and means to raise five or six millions annually, for support of this navy, or as a great service to government, without laying any tax on the

the people, or any additional incumbrance on the revenue? *L : to enquire what to avail in money to
and how to apply it to the Reformation*

Thirdly, Whether it is not the province and duty of such ministers, to find ways and means to bring into the revenue two millions annually, by preventing of smuggling; besides the detriment the nation suffers, by the pernicious practice being countenanced or conniv'd at, through neglect of exerting the means, and attending to such a plan as would defeat it?

Fourthly, Whether it is not the province and duty of such minister, to find ways and means to save the publick money, by preventing the giving of large bounties for seamen, &c. when he might have manned one hundred and fifty sail of ships of war at less expence?

Fifthly, Whether it is not the province and duty of such minister to ease the people of heavy taxes; and take off the duty upon soap, tallow and candles, and to raise the supplies within the year, without

without such enormous doucers, or high premiums ; the not doing of which is following the steps of their infamous predecessors in office, and shews no ability, for the ministers of those days ; some of the former ones have cried out, " Damn all posterity, what I am doing will last my time. I have two good supporters, jews and stock jobbers ! the jew declares for bribery and usury ; the stock jobber determines to live upon the heart and bowels of the country," without this he must starve.

Sixthly, Whether it is not the province and duty of a premier, when a plan and designs are laid before him, and already propos'd to be effected without subsidizing, that can maintain twenty-five sail of the line without any national expence; which, at this very period of time, might be cruizing in the Mediterranean seas, and have obtained reprisals and a carte blanche from Spain, who violated the faith of the last treaty, to examine into the merits of such interesting propositions.

All this, my good lord, you will please to ac-

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count for to your sovereign, and the benevolent people of England ; why you did not give an audience to examine the propositions as desired, as authentick letters can be produced to certify the facts : but, my lord, you must have something in reserve surely for your country. Therefore I pray you to open your budget : you are well paid, fulfil your station. For I should imagine the office of lords of the treasury, is to find secret ways and means to support government, and not ways and means to drain the peoples pockets, and reduce your country to beggary : if this last is the plan, the board is a disgrace to the kingdom.

Consult your junto—consult that great auditor of accounts Jenkinson; that secret oracle of politicks; wonders may be done, and the mountain bring forth a mouse.

My lord, I would be and still am your friend, therefore acquaint your sovereign in time, of the dangers hovering over his crown. You are embarked in a leaky ship, and a rotten crew ; you may be assured you will never weather the storm, with

with which the impending clouds threaten publick tranquillity, nor make a safe passage through these dardanell's: quit the helm before the storm bursts upon you, and enter yourself on board the good ship the Britannia, Capt. George.

The crew are sound and honest; consisting among others of a Rockingham, Richmond, Shelburne, Verney, Chatham, Cambden, Dowdeswell, Crosby, Sawbridge, Oliver, Barry, Burke, Wilkes, (the post of honour in the rear) &c. &c. these are your able navigators; these are your true hearts of oak, who will wipe the mist off the compass, conduct you along a Lee-shore by which you may escape shipwreck: they will alter the course, and steer the Britannia by the constitutional line of measures, which will bring her safe once more into port; nunc est tempus, before the enemy strikes you, but do not rely on the nullum tempus, for the critical minute once lost is seldom to be recalled.

Now my great lord Sandwich, I am transfer'd over to you, as the present ne plus ultra in naval affairs.

I sent

I sent your lordship the plan for a grand fleet in time of peace, according to Mr. Robinson's direction, from lord North, to be maintained without any national expence, if you had thought fit : you received it, you have, I presume, considered it, and you desir'd my friend to call on your secretary Phelps for an answer, which he did ; and was told by your secretary, that his objection was only to the number of seamen. Surpriz'd at this answer, which seem'd to imply that your lordship would agree to have ships without men for public service, and unable to comprehend this new broach'd system of politics, tho' I cannot help saying I have seen others as mysteriously inconsistent in administration, I thereupon went to your secretary with my friend ; this secretary having in the intervals chang'd his idea, as I imagin'd, then told me, that the fleet was too large, and the number of seamen too great ; and that these were your lordship's sentiments; I reply'd, it signify'd nothing to you, or to him, as the expence did not create any national charge.

Upon this reply, Mr. secretary began again, by saying, Sir, please to open your plan for explanation ;

tion; I told him if I did, your lordship and himself wou'd then be as wise as I was, or presumed to be, in this particular. Then asking him what gratification wou'd be assur'd me, in case I laid open the plan, and prov'd it eligible and effectual: I told him, to acquaint your lordship with my zeal for his majesty's service, by assuring you, that if the whole band of placemen and pensioners, would sign an instrument to serve their king and country for seven years gratis, I would be the first to sign such an agreement, tho' not upon the ground with either: and that if a proper gratification was agreed on, I would instantly open this, and other plans, to the emolument of the state, and shew what I had proposed to be eligible, clear and practicable: therefore I expected a gratification if I demonstrated and prov'd the propositions as above, but not a penny if I fail'd.

Your secretary making no objection to this proposition, wrote on the back of the plan the following words; viz. If this plan can be prov'd practicable as describ'd, what reward or gratification may the projector of this plan expect; and telling

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me that he would lay the plan and propositions before you, he desir'd me to call on him in a few days to receive an answer.

In about four or five days after, I went again to this secretary, who told me that you had perus'd and consider'd the plan and propositions; but that no gratification would be offer'd or given, unless I would first disclose the secret for performing the plan, and that this was your lordship's answer: my brains, my lord, are not so easily twitch'd out of my head, for your lordship to take the loaves and fishes, and leave my merit unrecompensed, as if the service really and originally was your own.

I thought so great a politician as your lordship is said to be; a man that has jump'd fore and aft, from post to pillar in offices; a man employed in foreign embassies, and distinguished in that of aix-le-chappelle, wou'd have seen into the good intentions and great advantages resulting to the nation, by ordering such fleets to be fitted out and stationed as pointed at by the plan: tho' they were
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to be maintained at a national expence, especially at a time when the French and Spaniards ; and even our nearer friends and neighbours the Dutch, are making such formidable preparations, and augmentations in their maritime forces, in the time of profound peace, as we are in vain taught to believe: I thought, I say, that your lordship wou'd have paid some attention to the propositions on this head, and at least enter'd thereon, by fixing, or proposing some price or recompence, for the merit of the projector, or performer of such service, if the plans were demonstrated and prov'd: they were surely worthy of examining, and deserving an interview, with the person who propos'd them, to hear what he had to say in support of them ; and to answer any objection, that might be started on the subject, if you had the business at heart, and the happiness and security of the nation in view : but to his amazement nothing of this kind happen'd; on the contrary, your lordship seem'd to avoid the occasion, and to deny him such opportunity, by declining to see him, as if you were afraid of being convinc'd of the truth of the facts he propos'd to elucidate and prove.

If you are capable of presiding for any time at that board where you are now plac'd, you ought to know, that no less a number of ships according to each station must be or should be kept up in time of peace, if we intend any longer to be a maritime power, and prevent our rivals from encroaching on our trade, and usurping our foreign or domestic possessions.

The present situation of our affairs, of our state matters, and in truth our national politics, are not to be follow'd in these times of danger, according to the old system ; as the greatest powers of Europe have form'd confederacies, and are now actually combin'd against us, in the deepest and most secret schemes and projects for our ruin ; for it is in proportion to the dangerous powers, we are to contend with for self-preservation ; for our aris & focis, and the exigencies of the case, that we should provide not only to defeat the dangers that threaten us by conquering them, but to secure and preserve the possessions we may acquire, by our victories when obtain'd ; if your lordship does not concur in this idea with me, what will the nation think of you.

Suffer

Suffer me then, my lord, to desire you to satisfy your sovereign, and the people of Great Britain, why you did not enter on the plan, and answer the questions now put to you for each fleet ?

First, The American squadron by the bill is sixteen ships of the line, ten frigates, two bombs, two fire ships; instead of which it ought to be twenty-five sail of the line ; but I curtail'd it to induce your lordship to enter on business : every man knows the vast extent of our American coasts, and their islands. The Spaniards have never less in those seas than from sixteen to eighteen sail of the line, and fit for sea, besides they build many ships in those parts continually. The French have never less than six or seven sail of the line in America. How can you then pretend to protect your islands, your fortresses, your settlements, your navigation for preserving your merchants ships, effects, and their commercial interests, which is the wealth of the kingdom : without a superior fleet, all must go to ruin, and the only trade we shall have left, be carried away, or taken from us, as is now doing in all the other parts of the world by neglect, before

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any succours arrives. I suppose you intend sending an admiral with four or five ships of the line, and as many frigates during a peace: upon a rupture he is to run away, unless you can make four or five ships beat sixteen or eighteen; if so, your political system is better than mine; therefore give the publick an account of the use of four or five ships, how to be relieved in time, and when, and where?

Note, Such a preparation will be found a buckram fleet, only for expence.

The next squadron is the Mediterranean, consisting of fourteen sail of the line, five frigates, one bomb, one fire ship, curtail'd at present as in the bill, but which should be twenty-five sail of the line at least, if intended to do any good for the nation, and to be commanded by an admiral of a political understanding, as well as his being an expert and good naval officer: this station requires a secret intelligence from the continent either in peace or war, with full discretionary orders to engage or destroy the naval power of any state, which shall presume

presume to combine in a junction to attack our fleet; and not such orders as poor Haddock had, to let the French and Spanish fleets join and not engage. I suppose, my lord, you think six or seven ships of the line enough for these seas. What protection are they for Mahon, or Gibraltar? What protection to the Turkey, Italian, Portugal and African trade? you will say, the trade want none, because already lost. The want of a superior navy in those seas is the cause of this loss; what use is your squadron of against fourteen or fifteen sail of the line in Toulon; four or five at Carthagena; fourteen or fifteen sail at Cadiz, as beforementioned. Encore a buckram fleet for expence.

Now had you twenty-five sail of the line at Mahon or Gibraltar, or cruizing in those seas, none of the enemies squadrons dare attempt to join; for the French have no business in a Spanish port, nor the Spaniards in a French port; they might sail in time of peace from one port to the other of their own, but they must be looked after; besides, our spies in those courts in time of peace or war, can give early intelligence to any fleet when in the Mediterranean;

terranean ; but for expresses to come here, then a fleet to be manned, then sail for the Mediterranean, the blow is given by the enemy, and they go where they please, before any measures can be taken to defeat their intended project.

Now, my lord, give your sovereign and the publick, a reason why, or in what view you objected to this fleet as by the bill ? I think, my lord, it hath been said in a public place by somebody, let them take Gibraltar, it can be retaken; but how, and when, and at what expence is not within your knowledge or mine : posterity, as well as the present race of Britons, will severely experience the loss before the acquisition is made, if ever ; so that this fleet it must be confess'd, is most material to preserve a balance of power in Europe.

The next squadron is the channel squadron, consisting of twenty-five sail of the liine, twelve frigates, twenty cutters, two bombs, two fire ships, curtail'd as above, but should be thirty-five ships of the line. An able officer in your lordship's department would station this squadron in the time of peace, viz.

Twelve

Twelve at Milford Haven, which port ought to be fortified, and to have good docks.

Ten at Plymouth.

Eight at Portsmouth.

Five at Chatham.

Three frigates, and three cutters, to look into Brest harbour every day, if weather permits, and the same at Cadiz and Ferrol: ready or not ready, you are ready for them.

The Brest fleet is generally twenty-three or twenty-four sail of the line upon augmentation: my lord, give a reason to the publick why, or say from what motive you objected against the channel squadron, as by the bill; and what force you think sufficient to defend the right, title, property, peace and quiet of your king, and of your country, now called Great Britain; but which seems to be in danger to be called a province of France, by neglect and misconduct; or whether you trust their safety and defence, to French faith or Spanish honour: on this last defence your sovereign is not safe upon his throne, nor his subjects in their lives and properties; neither can be content or satisfied that the French and Spanish courts should presume to limit our navy, or oblige us to take their words.

Therefore prepare for the worst, and be not frightened at a French rat, or a Spanish toledo. The next squadron is the East India squadron, no less material than any of our other fleets; the particular service of which shall be mentioned in a further publication.

But, my lord, if you neglect to support these squadrons, as by the bill and the explanations; and should remain in office

for any longer-time, without properly exerting those powers, with which you are invested by the nature of your office, for the benefit and happiness of the nation; your enemy will give you such an unexpected blow, as will be fatal to your king and country.

If necessity should bring on a war, and your lordship should have taken care to attend to the number and stations of the fleets, as by the explanations to the bill, it will be shewn how the fleets of Great Britain, which have hitherto preserved the empire of the seas, can be by an easy augmentation increased to that natural strength, which will enable her to sweep our enemies out of the ocean: This may be thought presumptuous to assert, but facts will prove themselves. Thus Britons, I hope, I have stated the matter for your approbation and satisfaction, as to my lord's it is immaterial to me.

There is yet, however, one object left for your consideration, and which is highly material, viz. That one of the greatest misfortunes that this nation now labours under, is that all our politicks are centred in modes of elections, in order to have a majority in parliament.

You must insist to have annual or triennial parliaments, if you intend to preserve the name of free Britons; by this resolution you will conquer France and Spain in England.

But if corruption is to prevail, rather than fall into the hands of your common enemy, or the race of Stuarts to be slaves, and loose your religion and properties; alter your constitution, abolish all parliaments, and make the monarchy of England despotic.

F I N I S.